1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The bridal train follows a predetermined route, passing through several villages to display the dowry for all to see, even if the bridal couple live in neighboring villages and even if they happen to come from the same village. All along the route the special wedding music of gongs and horns attracts villagers who wish to see the procession.

The time of arrival in the groom's village, usually in the afternoon, has previously been fixed by a geomancer. Most of the villagers are outdoors waiting to examine the dowry. The bride's sedan chair is placed before the door of the boy's house, but the girl may not leave the chair and enter the house until the dowry has been ritually examined and accepted by the groom. Once this is done, a child of the household formally welcomes the bride to her new home, and she is led from the sedan chair and escorted into the house by the matchmaker. On entering the house the bride steps over a burning brazier and steps on and breaks a piece of red tile. The first act symbolically cleanses her of any ill fortune she may have picked up accidentally along the way (an example of such an accidental contamination is for the wedding caravan to pass a funeral along its route). The second act symbolizes the bride's willingness and her intention to obey her new family. These acts completed, she is led to a private room where "according to custom" she spends the next several hours alone except for occasional visits from the matchmaker.

That evening a festive banquet is held to celebrate the marriage. An even number of courses is always served, sometimes as many as sixteen to eighteen, and a great deal of wine is consumed. The banquet is attended by many guests, male and female, old and young, for the most part relatives (*ch'in ch'i*) and friends of the boy's family only. The adult males eat apart from the women and children. Either a *ch'in tsu* of the groom or else a fellow villager plays host at almost every table of male guests to see that the guests eat and drink and are generally entertained. Finger games to promote the drinking of wine are usually played. Other male *ch'in tsu* and village friends and neighbors serve the food to the guests, while the women help in the kitchen. The male cooks are hired from the village or from the local area. Dishes, tables, and chairs are hired for the occasion in Lukang and brought into the village by oxcart.

About halfway through the banquet the bride is brought out and, together with the groom and his parents, is formally presented to the assemblage of guests and villagers by a highly regarded elder *ch'in tsu* or a respected villager. After this introduction, many respected guests are called upon to give brief speeches; in these they remind the young couple of their duty to their parents and express hopes that children will soon result from the marriage, especially boys. The speeches completed, the groom goes from table to table, drinking with and accept-

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

562 624 [794] in many other areas of Taiwan. The only other office to which females are elected in Sanlei is the parent teacher's association although as chia chang, females are eligible for any political office. (Women from some other li around Hsin Tien are elected to the township council.) This explanation of the relationship between the percentage of female lu chu and the percentage of female chia chang cannot be tested without further data from other regions of Taiwan.

358 The only semi-permanent temple official is the caretaker who tends the temple, keeps it clean, puts flowers in the vases, chases out children when they are too noisy, and watches for thieves. He receives the income from a small piece of temple-owned land but since it is not adequate to pay for a regular worker's services, the caretaker's job is always filled by one of the semi-retired old men who has extra leisure time. The current caretaker [358] replaced the former caretaker two years ago because his wife had died rendering him ritually unclean for three years. People who are ritually unclean, i.e., those in mourning or women who are menstruating, should not enter the temple lest they contaminate the gods.

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Temple Gods

796 There are many different shen (gods) who are all arranged in a great pantheon not unlike an emperor with his officials descending down to the level of the local

anymore. The next day, there was a cave-in which killed a miner from Erhlei Ts'un. The part-time miner was sure the god had saved him so he obtained a statue of the god, installed it in the temple, and pledged to worship it daily for the rest of his life. Although the history of the acquisition of many statues is known, much has been lost and as stated earlier, two of the statutes are completely unknown, even their names.

The statues in the temple are called gods because they are more than a mere symbolic representation, they actually possess some essence of the god himself, acquired by being made by special craftsmen and by being placed with appropriate rituals next to other gods in special temples for a period of time. Temple gods may become contaminated by various means such as by the close approach of a person in mourning or a menstruating woman. When contaminated, they lose much of their power but there are appropriate rituals to cleanse them.

Gods are both males and females and probably the most popular single god in China is Kuan-yin, the so called Goddess of Mercy (L. Thompson, 1969:56). In Taiwan and Fukien, one of the most popular gods is Matsu, another female, around whom a major celebration is dedicated each year in Sanlei. The importance of females in the pantheon of gods is consistent with the arguments presented in this paper with regard to the role of women in Chinese society.

183 791 787 There is a final kind of service that religious practitioners provide for community residents although few villagers would be likely to admit it explicitly, i.e., they provide justification for social acts which might be contrary to community standards or which might otherwise create difficulties in interpersonal relations. For instance, assume a family wants to give up a daughter in adoption but also does not want to create an impression that they are releasing her because the family can not afford her support. If a shaman of some kind orders the adoption, the family can accomplish it without censure by claiming the gods wishes must be obeyed. Someone can be found to interpret the god's desires in a manner so that anything and everything can be justified.

A Fire Purification Ceremony

796 783 [171] As an extended case study, I will present an account of a non-cyclical but important religious event held in Sanlei in November of 1966. The ceremony was entitled the "Fire Purification of the Gods" and differs only in minor details from that described by DeGroot for Mainland China (1892-1910). The essential part of the ceremony is ritual purification of the gods by carrying them through a fire of god's paper money in sedan chairs carried by bearers who are ritually clean and have no foot coverings.

[171] 184 [178] Similar ceremonies have occurred throughout Taiwan periodically with strong evidence they have increased in

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796 frequency during the past twenty-five years, probably for
176 two different reasons. One reason is related to the recent
[171] increased prosperity. Although people seem to greatly en-
[184] joy the big festivals, they are very expensive. With the increased prosperity, there are both more ceremonies such as the "Fire Purification Ceremony" and greater participation together with increased expenditures on regular ceremonies.

The second reason is more explicitly related to the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in particular for the ceremony is considered partially a response to crises and change. During these past twenty-odd years there have been many significant events in Taiwan such as a change in the official government and a multitude of cultural and social changes accompanying the expanding economy. Moreover, there is a constant fear of a Taiwanese attack on the Mainland or a Communist attack on Taiwan. Consequently, there have been four "Fire Purification Ceremonies" in Talei Li in the past twenty-five years, two of them during our eighteen month period of study and one of the remaining two, the previous year.

783 Carrying a god's statue through the sacred fire
796 after proper ritual purifies it and helps make the god more
776 powerful and thereby, temporarily raises the rank of the temple in which the god resides. Higher rank will bring more people to the temple to worship and the more people

783 that come, the more powerful the gods in the temple are
796 assumed to be. Part of the reason for the ceremony in
776 Sanlei was a desire to raise the status of the temple for once raised, it is possible but not probable that the higher rank will be maintained. If miracles occur more people will come, and as stated, the major key to assessing rank is the number of worshippers.

783 There are two forms of the "Fire Purification Cere-
796 mony." The first concludes the whole process on a single occasion which may take one or more consecutive days. The second form requires two nearly similar processes some years apart although each part may take more than one day. The ceremony to be discussed in this section was the last half of the two-part ceremony, entitled the "tail." The first part, the "head," was held just under two years previously.

783 The "head" was originated, planned, and conducted
796 by three cooperating sworn brothers associations. These
513 three associations consisted of all younger men (maximum
621 age 35) and most of them were part of the progressive faction politically. They paid most of the costs themselves but did accept donations from wealthier villagers. Although almost everyone in the village eventually participated in the ceremony itself, this was the first major affair ever held in Sanlei that was not supported by the usual assessment procedure and temple committee and many

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796 people therefore felt that the ceremony was not really
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621 theirs. One sworn brother explained that he got the idea and started the whole process because of a ceremony he attended at a village near Hsin Tien.

The three sworn brothers associations had originally
[624] planned to conduct the "tail" in the same manner. However, after many discussions over a period of time lasting nearly a year, it was decided to handle it in nearly the same manner as most ceremonies except that the committee would not only include a pot master and an assistant from each of the six lin, but one assistant from each of the
[787] three sworn brothers associations. One of the ten com-
[562] mittee members was a female, selected by the gods in the usual way by casting the shen pei.

783 In the meantime, the temple committee for the Erhlei
796 temple, the temple which actually encompassed all Talei Li,
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632 decided they could not let the Sanlei temple get too far ahead because the li temple was supposedly higher in rank. They therefore planned a "Fire Purification Ceremony" of their own. It would be a much more elaborate one-occasion type falling between the Sanlei "head" and "tail" ceremonies.

621 The first task of the Sanlei committee was to select
632 a date. This was not an easy task for the date had to be
783 auspicious, not too close to other religious holidays, not
794 too close to the li Fire Purification Ceremony, and during
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783 796 794 632 621 a relatively slack agricultural period. The li chang (li mayor and resident of Sanlei) became an ex officio member of the committee because of his experience and knowledge and his ability to mediate disputes and calm disputants. Additionally, since money was to be collected and expended, he had an excellent reputation for honesty and frugality which would help protect against the usual charge that temple committees waste public money for their own pleasures.

Sanlei Ts'un is in a curious position as previously stated for it has its own temple but is also part of the li temple organization which is centered in Erhlei. The residents are thereby partially in competition with themselves. Sanlei is the only village in the li whose residents financially support two different temples. As previously explained, one li faction includes T'oulei and Erhlei and the other, the rest of the li. Although verbally accepting the temple in Erhlei as the li temple, at times people behave as if it belonged only to the Erhlei-T'oulei faction. For the li ceremony an expensive opera was hired. The Sanlei committee finally agreed on a puppet show which was much less expensive although some committee members wanted to hire another opera to show that the Sanlei and Erhlei temples were equal.

783 796 621 In addition to the above tasks of setting a date and arranging entertainment, the committee was responsible

783 796 621 for obtaining the fa shih (shaman), getting the police permit for a ceremony, inviting official guests from outside the community, renting the extra sedan chairs and other equipment, and purchasing expendable items such as incense sticks, paper money, and candles. All this required preparation of an estimated budget, distribution of assessments to residents, obtaining pledges, and later, collecting the money and disbursing it. As would be expected, the planning required many meetings and also periodic appraisal of general village sentiment about details. Although the committee was nominally in charge, the whole community was actually involved in planning.

783 796 Finally, the day of the ceremony arrived. About seven o'clock in the morning, most of the villagers gathered in a field just across the river from the village where the second rice crop had recently been harvested and the ground was hard. In the center of the field was a Table of the Eight Immortals holding a number of god's statues, candles, incense sticks, and a fine layer of sand. In front of the table were six sedan chairs, a bamboo pole strapped on each side. Two were fairly small and could be carried by two men and the remaining four required four men each. Tied to the chairs with large red ribbons were ten of the Sanlei temple gods.

Twenty young men under thirty years of age had been selected as sedan chair bearers. Several had participated

783 796 in the ceremony the previous year but both neophyte and veteran were frightened for they knew they would eventually walk through a fire and all truly felt they would probably be burned. They had ritually prepared for the [834] ceremony. All were supposed to have refrained from sexual intercourse for twenty-four hours, taken a thorough hot bath the night before, and washed their feet again in the morning in the temple just before coming to the field.

Upon a signal given by the fa shih in charge, the sedan chairs were hoisted to the men's shoulders and would [534] not be lowered for about four hours. Two older village men carried eight-inch gongs which they beat as they walked about the field, frequently closely approaching the bearers and banging the gongs especially loudly in their ears. The shaman carried long heavy incense sticks which released thick smoke and a pungent odor. He walked from bearer to bearer, waving the sticks in their faces and whispering in 783 their ears. After a half hour in the hot sun, some of the 787 chairs started to sway, to lurch forward two or three 796 steps, and to return back into line. One set of men stumbled and bumped into the group next to them. One of the men in front on a four-man chair started to tremble, his eyes were closed, and then he took off running in a wide circle, his three fellow bearers struggling to keep the chair balanced. He was "possessed by the gods." Following quickly beside the chair were the two gong-beaters

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787 and the shaman who helped guide the chair so that it would strike other chairs. It is believed that "possession" is contagious and by touching chairs, perhaps more people would be one possessed. If the touching is rather vigorous, the transfer process is more likely.

Before long, all six chairs with their respective crews were involved, dashing about here and there. Since most of the villagers were in the same field, they too had to dash about avoiding flying sedan chairs. A few villagers got knocked down and some bearers were severely bruised as chairs crashed into each other. We did note that at no time did any chair run into the table in the center of the field and at no time did it appear that all members of a single crew were in a trance simultaneously.

Follow-up interviews afterwards revealed that all but four men felt that they had been in trances at some time during the day. Some felt that they were always aware of what was happening but had no control over it which they described as similar to when a man had too much to drink. Other men stated that periods were completely blank with no memory at all of what had happened. Most men had several trances, none seemingly exceeding ten minutes in duration.

After about an hour, a chair halted in front of the table and lines were marked in the sand with one of the poles used to carry it, but the shaman said the lines made no sense. Character writing went on in a similar manner

783 sporadically all during the day. After each character was
796 written, the sand was smoothed out again in preparation
787 for the next. These characters were all special spirit writing, direct communications from the gods which only the shaman is able to read and interpret. The statements may be criticism or praise of specific villagers or general information. Eventually, one character would proclaim when the fire for the walk should be started.

783 After about four hours, around 11:00, everyone quit
796 for lunch. It is possible that the gods could call for the fire within a very few minutes after the ceremony started, but no ceremony in memory however, had ever started before the first day's lunch break. Lunch was much more elaborate than usual and there were many guests in attendance. Outsiders had been arriving all day during the morning to observe the men running in the fields and to
[602] become guests for lunch. Few villagers did any regular
[573] work that day; even much of the cooking was performed by
[628] outsiders such as ch'in ch'i (affinal relatives) or sworn brothers from other villages who worked without pay. In turn, Sanlei would provide cooks for ceremonies, funerals, and weddings in other villages. Four sworn brother asso-
[66] ciations gathered for an extra lunch together. Politicians from Hsin Tien and the county visited each of the associations in turn for a few minutes and also visited the lunches hosted by the more important people.

783 796 787 At 1:00, everyone was back in the field and the ceremony started again. The temperature was now much hotter so it did not take as long as it had in the morning for the trances and running to start. A pair of chairs were carried down the hill, across the bridge, into the village proper, and in and out of the temple.

783 796 784 626 787 Many villagers became frightened as they observed the chairs head for the village for if the gods were truly angry with some man, the chair would enter his house and do some damage. The fear was not of damage but of the knowledge that the gods were strongly displeased. Fortunately, this did not happen although it had at the previous Erhlei ceremony to one important man. In this manner, any person in the community, no matter how important, can be severely criticized.

783 796 787 The gods spoke through two different young men at various times while they were in trances. Both were surnamed Liao and were members of old village families. One was a very proper and filial type but the other was considered a little too aggressive and had a reputation of frequenting the wine houses. The statements were in Taiwanese although any language is possible, even some spirit languages which can be translated only by a shaman. In total, there were more than seventy statements, at least one for every household in the village and a few extra general statements. Some statements were complementary

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but a majority were critical although all reinforced cultural values and standards.

A sample of the god's statements is listed below followed by my personal comments or explanations. As previously stated, in a normal situation, few of these statements would be permitted for seldom is there a face to face confrontation between an accuser and accusee unless the situation is going to degenerate into a serious fight. (Names are all disguised for obvious reasons.)

1. "Liao A.B.! You are a sincere man. I have helped you to recover your health. I am happy that you always come to clean and take care of the temple." (Subject had prostate trouble with considerable discharge. After various types of medical and shamanistic treatment failed to bring relief, he made a pledge at the temple that if the gods helped he would worship daily forever. The pain is almost gone and he seldom has any more discharge. Each morning, at daybreak, he opens the temple, pai pai's with incense, and puts flowers in the vases. Every villager is aware of his pledge and performance.)

2. "Liao C.D.! You are a bad-hearted[9] woman. You would not clean the dirty ditch in front of your house so the dirty water runs into the pond where other villagers wash clothes and vegetables." (Subject immediately ran off to clean her ditch. She frequently quarreled with her husband and his brother's wife.)

3. "Liao E.F.! Your second son has poor health. I will give him a charm. He should drink it in the early morning." (Subject is a community leader and head of an extended household. The charm is a package of herbs to be mixed with hot water. "To give" means that the speaking god will guide the proper stick out when the vase of medicine sticks is shaken.)

4. "Huang G.H.! Your wife is sick because she dried woman's underpants in the kung t'ing in front of the gods. I will give you a charm for her to drink." (Subject is a local official and well liked.)

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5. "Liao I.J.! Old man, you are a good person and serve the gods. But your son is a bad-hearted person. He says bad things about people behind their backs." (The son is unfilial and wants to marry a village girl but her parents are refusing the match by asking a bride price of more than five times the standard amount.)

6. "Huang K.L.! Your sons' eyes hurt because you picked a bad day to fix your kitchen. You never worship the god's soldiers on the 1st and 15th of each month. You should worship on these days. I will give you charms for your family to drink." (Subject has a reputation for cheapness and refuses to spend proper amounts on ritual.)

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7. "Yu M.N.! Your eldest son is not strong because the altar in your kung t'ing is not properly located. You should think about your second son's marriage because he is too embarrassed to talk to you about it." (The altar is one of the two in the village on the side rather than the back wall in relationship to the door. The man through whom the gods were now speaking was the "second son" mentioned in the statement.)

8. "Chiu O.P.! Your son is fine. Do not worry about him." (Subject is poor but considered to be a good man. His son is in the army and stationed in Kin Men.)

As can be seen from the above samples, the gods speak through the young men to reinforce common values. We talked to many people afterwards and none thought that the two boys through whom the gods spoke were bad-hearted people; that is, they believed that the statements really came from the gods. They said that in the past, bad-hearted people have tried to pretend they were gods but they always got caught.

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About 3:30 p.m., the shaman interpreted a character written in the sand with the poles of a sedan chair as

signifying the gods were ready for the ceremony. (It has been known to take as long as four days to reach this stage.) The equivalent of twenty bushel baskets of paper money (sacrificial money, not real bills) was placed in a pile about three feet wide, twenty-five feet long, and over a foot deep. The pile was then set on fire for the high point of the ceremony was near. Almost every villager and guest were present as observers for runners had gone into the village to collect people as soon as the gods stated they were ready.

The first chair, after a false start running beside the fire down its length, was carried the length of the fire very quickly. The men were completely without foot covering and the fire was hot enough to singe their rolled-up trousers and also to burn the hair off my hand which I had put near the fire and into it to see if it really was hot. Soon, every chair had gone through the fire at least twice, each god thus becoming purified by passing through the sacred smoke over the sacred fire. After the first few trips, the speed of the bearers diminished to just about a fast walk. As the fire died down, older village men carried both the remaining temple gods and private and sworn brothers association gods through the fire by merely wrapping their arms around them and walking the length of the fire at a fast pace. Every god in the community was eventually purified. Small boys and girls ran through the

783 796 789 smouldering ashes at the end and the ceremony proper was over.

I cannot explain why no one was burned. I carefully examined the feet of several men over the next few days and none turned red, blistered, or seemed painful to the touch. The villagers all claimed that the men were protected by the gods. One village participant, a boy who became a good informant was as mystified as I. He too carefully examined his feet each day because he felt he was being burned during the trip through the fire, but now claims that the gods must have protected him. In this manner, the ceremony helped dispel some of the doubts common in the village with reference to the power of the gods.

783 796 The gods were then returned to the temple or their regular resting places and shortly thereafter, the puppet [782] show began. Elaborate food sacrifices were made to the gods in the temple, to the earth god, to the negative spirits, and in the homes as everyone observed the quality and [574] quantity of each other's sacrifices. Almost every household had elaborate dinners that evening with many guests from outside and inside the village including elected officials, salesmen and several policemen from both Pouti and [628] Hsin Tien. There were many residents from other nearby villages and eventually, Sanlei villagers would be guests at their affairs.

796 585 During the same evening, two wedding feasts were held although the respective ceremonies had begun in the

796 585 morning as usual. The hosts explained that there would be many guests and elaborate food for the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in any case and therefore, it was economical to have a wedding the same day as a big village ceremony. Additionally, the gods had already decided the day was auspicious for worship and therefore, also auspicious for weddings.

796 783 521 The drinking and eating parties lasted until after midnight, an unusually late hour in village life. Much conversation was devoted to the ceremony and to what the gods had stated about the village and individual villagers. The various statements from the gods were badly distorted as they spread through the community for with the gongs clanging and people running and screaming, many statements were none too clear to start. Additionally, since they tended to be invested with high levels of emotional content, they were subject to considerable distortion as they passed through communication chains. No one villager had heard every statement in the original form. The statements will be repeated innumerable times and will be remembered for many years and the ceremony itself will be discussed for a long time, both in the village and in the region for miles around.

796 783 794 The last official function of the responsible committee was fulfilled the next day. At the meeting, the members prepared a final accounting of receipts and

796 disbursements and posted it on the temple bulletin board.
783 The account included a list of donors, household head only,
794 in rank order by size of donation with every village household listed as contributing something. There was nearly $700.00 left over so the committee decided to spend $60.00 for a temple scroll and to donate the balance to the li school.

796 The ceremony appeared to be over but its latent
783 effects will long linger. Already comparisons were being
621 made with a ceremony conducted over forty years previously in Sanlei and with other ceremonies held in surrounding villages. With the requirement that many villagers had had to work together to conduct the affair, the ceremony was a strong integrative agency for the community. It also served to elevate Sanlei's status in the area and by having many guests, past favors were repaid and new debts were
[869] created. Young men vividly learned of the powers of the gods--the fire walk was spectacular for participant and
796 observer alike. Tension was also released by the many gay
293 parties, especially since they included much drinking.
273 The drunken villager is either very happy or very quiet and withdrawn with an extremely rare appearance of aggressive behavior. Since it is considered very bad to drink one's self into a stupor more than once in a lifetime, most men learn to control their liquor, i.e., know how much they can drink and act accordingly.

593 name may be unique, may be designed to complement the given name, or may reflect a family situation, i.e., it may indicate generation by use of the poem described in Chapter V or it may be merely common to all one man's offspring, different for boys and girls.

551 789 Names alone can usually be used to distinguish sex although there are some which overlap. Names have magical powers too such that a good name may foster desired qualities such as kung, wisdom. Previously described was the name given to a girl such as "last daughter" to break a chain of girls. Also if a couple has lost several children, a "dirty" name such as "idiot pig" may be given so the child will be unattractive to the gods. Names may be selected by the family or may be selected in consultation with specialists at the temple.

846 [783] After man yueh, the woman is free to leave the house and resume her duties. Her bedroom, which has been "ritually unclean" by virtue of the birth in addition to its general untidiness will have a thorough cleaning the day after the baby's presentation. Sexual intercourse is expected to be 846 834 831 resumed that night so the husband will be teased about this resumption by his close male friends, particularly by his sworn brothers. His siblings or parents are not likely to ever comment on his sexual activities. Only an old woman is likely to make a suggestive remark in public about his